

346 the dwellings of the monks, and the interior, if large, is divided by other buildings into several open courts. One room, more spacious and much more lofty than the rest, is set apart as a temple for the performance of daily service. The outer walls are generally white-washed; and the battlements are ornamented with broad bands of red, and surmounted with numerous small flags that flutter in the breeze and give a lively appearance to the whole place. Outworks are sometimes added for the purpose of defence. These are generally plain curtain-walls connected by square towers crowned by machicoulis.*

- 342 The generality of the houses throughout Ladák are so much alike that a description of one will serve for all. The houses usually consist of two or three stories and sometimes of four. The foundations and lower parts of the walls are built of stone, the upper walls of large sun-dried bricks, $20 \times 10 \times 6$ inches. In the better houses some of the rooms are of considerable size, twenty-five feet long and eighteen broad; but they are always very low, the highest not exceeding seven and a half or eight feet. The roofs of these large rooms are always supported by plain wooden pillars. The roof is formed of poplar spars five or six inches in diameter, peeled white, and laid only one to one and a half feet apart. The beams are covered in with small straight pieces of poplar branches about one inch in diameter, peeled white, and placed touching each other. Generally they are laid straight across the beams; but sometimes at different angles, in the alternate intervals, so as to form a pattern like herring-bone. The whole is then covered with a layer of leaves and a thick coat of well-beaten

* See Plate XX. for a view of the monastery of Hanlé.

● 342

clay. The floors are generally of earth, but the better sort are paved with small slit pebbles, about the size of turkeys' eggs, set in clay with the flat surfaces upwards. They form a clean, hard, smooth, and lasting floor.

The principal room generally has a balcony towards either the south or the west, from ten to twenty feet in length, and usually about two feet and a half in width, where the family sit to enjoy the sun in the winter season. The doors are mere rough planks of wood, joined together by wooden tenons, and sometimes strengthened by cross bars fastened with wooden pins. Purdahs or wadded curtains are also used as an additional means of excluding the cold wind; but when the doors are shut, there is only a dim light admitted into these apartments through one or two loopholes, which are closed with small shutters at night. If supplied with glass windows and fireplaces, many of these houses would form very comfortable residences; but at present they must be wretched habitations for the winter.

The houses of the poorer classes are generally of two stories: the lower story being appropriated to their cattle. The roofs are much more coarsely made, and the rooms are small and very low, being sometimes under six feet in height. In Ladák, the upper story is usually reached by a flight of earthen steps; but in Lahul, by the sloping trunk of a tree notched into steps.

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The royal palace at Lé is a large fine-looking building, that towers in lofty pre-eminence over the whole city. It is 250 feet in length and seven stories in height. The outer walls have a considerable slope, as their thickness diminishes rapidly with their increase of height. The

175 accession, received the usual offerings of submission from all the Ladákis, excepting only a petty chief of Purik who was in the interest of Ali Mir, the Gyalpo of Balti. Chovang Malig, the head chief of Purik and the elder brother of the rebel, applied to Jámya for a small force to coerce the refractory chief. The king assented and accompanied his troops to the Purik district, where they were suddenly overtaken by a violent snowstorm. The royal troops were dispersed; and the king and many of his principal followers were taken prisoners by the rebel and sent to Skardo,* where they were confined. The remainder of the troops were permitted to return to Ladák.

175 Ali Mir, the ruler of Skardo, taking advantage of the
798 helpless state of the country, immediately marched upon Lé with a large force, and took possession of the whole of Ladák.† The temples and monasteries were burned;‡ the images of Buddha and of his various personified emanations were destroyed by the bigoted Mahomedans; and all the religious and historical books were thrown into the Indus. The conquest was complete; and arrangements having been made for the future government of Ladák, Ali Mir marched back to Skardo.

175 Shortly after his return, the conqueror released Jámya, the imprisoned Gyalpo of Ladák, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. No reason is assigned for

* *Skar-mDo*, pronounced *Skardo*, "the starry place," or "starry fort."

† This conquest is also recorded in Vigne's brief historical notice of Balti (Kashmir, II. p. 253); but the chief of Skardo is there called Ali Sher, and not Ali Mir. Ali Sher is the true name, as all the petty chiefs of the Balti district claim their descent from him.

‡ The buildings in Ladák are readily burned down, as all the walls are bonded together with timber, which in so dry a climate is readily ignited.

792 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule assemble for public worship, though at the time of their New Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books room." In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instrument is called a kártung.

428 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called "khángchen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father's brother's child). áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoo goo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo (mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk, dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the dzorno is not so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but it produces excellent butter.

arrangement serves with them for a hinge.

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- [62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging)
thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging
up earth round roots of flowers, etc.).

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[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the
principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól,
and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a
temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur.

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HOURL--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the
Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the
hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a
small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated
for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water
gradually taken in through the hole, it sank.

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HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general) khar (of a king), zimskhang
(of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery)
zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation".
These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close
by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means
"winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village
occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning
"summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields,
where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near
his work).

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HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the
small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of
mountain passes and in other out of the way places, some-
times with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but
never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be
stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife".
Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists
of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are
closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the
family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife.

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585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
 789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol,
 gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You,
 god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been
 held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the
 gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a
 whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily
 laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour,
 meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
 361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the
 valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large
 double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to
 take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before
 them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here
 and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now
 in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with
 snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug,
 the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting
 open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better
 built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None
 of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep
 path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From
 all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "zu, zu,
 no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have
 arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
 [776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his
 existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
 [782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same
 thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon
 house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of
 the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers
 are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a
 loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling
 and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the
 courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas
 who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

again have flour porridge on this occasion. Affluent families can afford a meal of rice with meat and vegetables (mostly vegetables growing wild or white beets), with a spiced sauce (curry), or noodles (rgya-mog, that is, "Chinese soup"); or drim-t'ug, a soup with little rolls of dough, often also with meat and vegetables; dumpling soup and many other kinds of soup. A kind of dumplings made of spiced minced meat in a covering of dough (mog-mog) are also very popular. As beverage they have beer or butter tea, but rarely, and only among the rich, is there home-brewed rice brandy. 262 264

Sometimes another intermediate meal, bar-ma (meaning, "the middle one"), is inserted between the breakfast and the midday meal, if circumstances seem to require it. Poor people confine themselves frequently to two, yes, even to just one very scanty meal per day.

/122/

Building a House.

After the third child had come into the world with the birth of their little son, Namgyal, who had now taken over the management of the farm, decided to build a new house onto the old house, since the space had already become too cramped for the growing family. The old mother Tsering Putrid who with advancing age became increasingly strict in the observation of all formalities, was the first to insist that in this enterprise the old astrologist and devil-tamer Dorje DId-joms should be consulted, as well as the father. Above all the right moment to begin the building of the house had to be determined. 342

After long calculations and counting on his fingers and with little stones, the advice finally came from the soothsayer: The building is to be started after the working of the fields on the third day of the fifth month, a Thursday (Jupiter's day). The second, eighth, fourteenth, twentieth, and twenty-sixth of this month are evil days, the third is good unless a particularly evil omen, such as the arrival of an evil spirit at the place or something of that nature, should appear. The "day of the planet sun" (Sunday) and the day of the "red," "wrathful Mars (Tuesday) are both "angry days" and must be anxiously avoided in the beginning of any important undertaking. In any case, they must count upon the hostile opposition of the earth and water deities, the sabdag, the klu, and the gyan, who have their being in the depths of the earth, and of the water under the great old earth mother (Khon-ma). In order to break the resistance of these powerful forces Namgyal 342 377

- 342 had to call in the lamas, even if he did so half against his will. They
 777 came, five in number, and on the spot staked out for the construction, they read the book of the "heaped up good luck (bkra-sis rtsegs-pa)," the words of which allegedly possess the power to exorcise the entire legion of threatening demons, so that good fortune might be able to enter into the house unhampered.

/Following page 122 there is a full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Carpenter. He works with the cross axe (ste-po), his chief tool. "/

- 342 /123/ On the appointed Thursday there appeared a group of men with hoes and spades on the building site. Jugs with beer were already standing there in readiness. The workers received a drink and each one of them was given a few copper coins. The "architect," a carpenter with very limited abilities, stepped forth and staked off the quadrangle of the house exactly by means of strings and stakes. At the sign from the master one of the laborers came forth and, as the first one, broke the ground with his hoe. He and no other one was allowed to do this: He was a "pig year person" (p'ag-lo-pa); such a person is considered as a person who brings luck, and whatever he starts is supposed to succeed. He is a man of "sharp speech" (k'a-gnon), the spirits fear his word and his hand, he has power over them. One blow with the hoe executed by him frightens the spirits and drives away the last ones that may have remained behind after the exorcism of the lamas. This "pig year person" also receives better pay than the other workers in order to make sure that he will stay till the building is completed. He had been fetched from a distant village, because no such lucky person was to be had just then in the neighboring villages. The higher pay induced him to lend his services to the builder until the end, a fact which was appreciated not because of his performance--he was the laziest of all the workers--but because of his supposed power of exorcizing the spirits, a power which was given him by his year of birth. His laziness was therefore taken into the bargain.

Weeks before they began building the men had broken rocks by the mountain and had rolled them down the steep slope close to the building site. Poplars had been felled for building wood; there was no better building wood on these mountain oases. The carpenter and his assistants chopped off the branches with their cross axes, peeled off the bark, and removed the roughest unevennesses of the trunk, but left it in its round shape. There is in the mountain wilderness a great lack of strong trunks which can be used as roof beams capable of supporting

a certain load. For this reason the trunks are not made into square beams so that they will not become too weak to support the roof.

Then the tiles were formed from the loamy soil, such as is to be found nearby--a product of the decomposition of limestone and granite--in the glacial deposits of the valley. The "tile moulders" placed the tiles upright on their sides on the ground in rows /124/. The sun, which in these heights (3,300 meters), with their clear, thin air free of vapors, shines very hot as early as May and exerts its heating effect unhampered, can in a few days dry and bake these "air tiles" in such a way that they produce walls, which in the dry air of those high-lands can last for centuries. For the burning of tiles there is no fuel in the practically woodless country. The Tibetan potter must laboriously gather the necessary shrubs in order to bake his pots and jugs.

The ground, consisting of glacial deposits on which the entire village stood, was dug without difficulty to the depth of about half a meter. Then came the "bricklayers," that is to say, the farmers who knew a little more about bricklaying than the others. The foundation walls were constructed of rough, scarcely hewn stones up to a height of about half a meter above the ground. On top of this foundation wall was put a thin layer of planks; with such a plank layer the wall is also covered at the top. Loamy soil serves as mortar. It is true that there are entire mountain ranges consisting of lime nearby, but for lack of fuel no lime can be baked.

A wooden roof is an impossibility, due to the lack of suitable building wood. The ceiling beams are placed blunt and without joints on the upper plank layer of the wall at distances of about half a meter. For larger rooms a stronger main beam is placed in the middle, and from this beam weaker beams are placed at right angles on both sides towards the walls. On top of these are placed, close together, strong, straight, peeled osier sticks which have been cut to an even length. On top of this is placed a layer of any kind of shrubs or weeds, such as the region may provide. On top of this layer they put wet loamy soil which they then trample down. The roof is divided into several fields with a slight incline towards the edge of the roof, so that the rain water is conducted into the outer corners and can drain off through short wooden gutters.

The house has two stories which internally are connected by means of stairs made of rough stones. A ladder consisting of a beam into which the carpenter has cut indentations as steps /125/, leads from the upper story on to the flat topmost roof of the house. The

342 walls of the house are covered on the inside as well as the outside with a plaster which consists also of loamy or clay-containing soil like the rest of the walls. Then the whole thing is painted with a yellowish white marl, which gives the house a friendly appearance. The doors and window frames are roughly fashioned, and the windows are very small, in order to keep the rooms as warm as possible in winter. The floors are made of loam that has been stamped down; only in the houses of the rich does a part of the living quarters have wooden ceilings. Usually a small courtyard that is enclosed by a high wall surrounds the house.

One enters a Tibetan house, coming through the courtyard, by a low door, and first of all one finds oneself in the stable in which the horses and the cows belonging to the owner stand at their brick cribs. Going up the stone steps, one arrives at the roomy livingroom-kitchen (cân-sa); adjoining this is a larger room, a kind of "parlor," opening to the south with a balcony; adjacent to both these rooms are the bedrooms and the pantry. Frequently the living room-kitchen also has a balcony on which the people like to sit in the sun in summer and winter, when they don't prefer to stay on the flat roof. Sometimes only a part of the lower story has a second story built on top of it, so that one can walk about and sit on its roof. Often the house is built at a steep mountain slope; then people and animals can get on top of the roof without stairs by simply using the mountain slope. On top of the roof the sheep and goat stable is often to be found.

On the upper roof, the loft, well-to-do Buddhists have their household temple constructed. Below this temple, in the livingroom-kitchen, are the seats of the men running in a row along the wall; below this--the granary. The blessing of the Buddhas and of the tutelary gods, whose pictures are up above in the household sanctum, are supposed to stream down directly upon the people and the property of the house below.

The work now progressed rapidly. Not a single rainy day interrupted it; the tiles dried and hardened well and quickly in the hot sun /126/, and when in July the harvesting work started, which required the services of the workers, the construction was essentially finished. Namgyal regaled his workers with tea, flat bread cakes, and beer, and dismissed them all except two carpenters who still had to construct the last doors and window shutters. The new building of the Dragshos house stood simple but trim, beside the old, which Namgyal had also had repaired. His joy over the new construction was great.

Dedication of the House and Securing it Against Hostile
Demons

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When the construction of the house was completed, Namgyal again called in the lamas. This is the way his relatives wanted it. For three days on end the lamas performed skurim (ceremonies), prayed to the Buddhas and to the tutelary spirits, asking them to protect the house and to give them blessing and prosperity in all their doing. It was especially important to protect the new house against the malicious earth spirits (sa-bdag) and their mistress, the old earth mother (ama-k'on-ma). This goddess wears a golden-yellow garment and she rides on a ram. In her hand she holds a loop of golden string. The most dreaded of the earth spirits are the Nyan (gnyan), who wander around in mountain and valley, and who nestle now in this, now in that rock or tree, and who send disease and death to man, when they are provoked, whether purposely or not. In order to fix these earth spirits of all kinds inside the earth, the lamas perform a ceremony which they call "the closing of earth's door." The lamas erect a long pole and construct a dosmo; from crossed sticks with wool threads stretched between them are constructed magical figures, parallelograms, pentagons, octagons, and stars, similar to the druidic foot of the medieval magician in Germany. These figures are fastened to the pole. Many of the figures are reminiscent of spider's webs; in addition there are little flags, arrows, and the like, which are stuck in between. Below, at the magical pole, a ram's skull is affixed. Inside the skull the lama magicians put all kinds of "valuable" offering gifts: gold leaf, a small piece of silver, a coin, a few turquoises, which are very cheap in Tibet, other semi-precious /127/ stones and small trinkets, wheat and rice kernels, peas, and the like. The quantity and the value of the offering gifts is determined by the money bag of the customer. A magical sign (sparka-k'on) is painted on the forehead of the skull; on the right jawbone is painted a sun, on the left jawbone a moon; above this are placed demons' masks, strips of silk, coins, and little sticks with little balls of wool at their tips (p'an-k'ra). At the very bottom of the pole the following crudely drawn pictures are attached: the picture of a man (the master of the house), of a woman with a spindle in her hand (the lady of the house), the children, the picture of the house, of a tree, and further magical signs (sparka and mewa), each of the latter on a little wooden tablet.

The entire dosmo is now fastened on the outside of the house

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789 above the housedoor. It is supposed to fix the evil earth spirits firmly within the earth, lest they approach the house in a threatening manner. They are supposed to vent their rage upon the pictures by believing them to be the actual inhabitants of the house. Once the dosmo is attached, lama steps in front of the housedoor with his face turned towards the southwest, and calls upon the queen of the earth spirits, the old mother Khon, draws her attention to all the good things coveted by her, the ram's skull with sun and moon, the Khon sign, and all the valuable stones, and so forth, in the ram's skull. All this, he says, is being offered to her so that she may enjoy it. And now she might as well close the door of the earth for the owners of the house, who had brought her all these precious things as an offering, so that the army of earth spirits which was subordinated to her might not inflict any harm upon the inhabitants of the house. In future, too, when the latter should build a new house or improve the old, when they might plan a marriage or any other important matter, the earth mother is to remember this offering and is not to hinder the doings of the people, but to further them. In conclusion the lama claps his hands and exclaims: "Om kharal dok! Om kharal dok! Benneu swaha!" (mystical Sanskrit formulas).

The housedoor of the new house also had to be well protected against the evil spirits. A picture of the house and hearth god with the pig's head (p'a-lha, t'ab-lha) was also fastened above its door. When all these ceremonies were completed, and the lamas had fortified themselves by an ample meal and ample drink, /128/ and after each one of them had received another gift of money, they departed with the greeting: "Tra-shis-shik! K'angpa nor pelchik! Hail! May your house and your property prosper!"

A Year in the House of the Dragshos and What Namgyal Experienced during it

527 In the house of the Dragshos the old popular customs were strictly observed. The inhabitants were firmly rooted in the soil of the popular national traditions and took part in the life of the people as it has been taking its course for thousands of years, year after year in the same way, connected in the closest possible manner with nature. Just as life in nature takes its course in the eternal consonance of the yearly cycle which is determined by the course of the sun, so, too, the life of the Tibetan passes in even rhythm. In this the turning points

Kangra District.]

CHAP. III.—THE PEOPLE.

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gated and therefore cultivated is now lying waste. There is not much enterprise among the Spiti people, and their trade has not been increasing as in Láhau.

In Láhau the women outnumber the men in the proportion of 107 to 100, so far as the Census figures of 1881 show. But if the number of Láhauis absent from Láhau at the time of the Census be considered, the excess of women will not be so great; for it is customary to leave the old and infirm women behind in Láhau when the rest of the family goes to Kúlu for the winter. In Spiti the figures show women to men in the proportion of 111 to 100. But this does not represent the normal state of the population, as many males were absent on a pilgrimage to Ráwalair in Mandi at the time of the Census.

Chapter III, B. 438
Social and Religious Life.
Proportion of the sexes.

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SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The houses in Láhau and Spiti are very different in appearance from those of Kúlu or Kangra; they are two and sometimes three storeys high with flat roofs; the lower storey is occupied by the cattle, horses, and sheep and goats; the upper one contains the rooms lived in by the family. In Spiti these rooms are commonly three in number, and surround on three sides an open court; one of them is the family chapel, which is ordinarily very well furnished with images, large prayer cylinders, religious pictures, books, and sacramental vessels; the others are good-sized rooms lighted by small windows hung with wooden shutters, the largest is about 20 feet square, and has a roof supported by a double row of upright posts. At the corners of the house are flag-staffs consisting of poles from which hang black *gats*' tails. The walls are white-washed inside and out, and neatly topped with a coping of fagots. In Láhau the houses are smaller, and less care and taste are expended in building and adorning them. Ordinarily the upper storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or summer room, and a verandah room open on the fourth side. In this verandah stands the loom; inside will be found large corn-chests made of slate* set in wooden frames, large stone bowls from Lakárdo, iron cauldrons, and cooking pots, an iron tripod or pot stand, some wooden dishes, and a few earthen pots from Kúlu. Many pack-saddles for sheep and goats are strewed about, and a few blankets and thick sheep-skin coats hang on the walls. Small holes in the wall serve the purpose both of windows and chimneys: bed-steads are unknown. Grass is stacked on the roof, and wood for fuel inside. This is a fair description of a house in the upper valleys of Láhau; in the lower villages the rooms are larger and better ventilated. In Gára many of the houses are built together in one block with connecting passages, by which communication is kept up in the winter without going out, which, when the snow is very deep, may be scarcely possible. Making thread is the chief occupation in winter; on fine days the loom is brought out, and some weaving done. Both men and women work the loom in

Houses and furniture.

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* Very fine slate in large slate is to be had in Láhau; the quarry is in Ghisa on the mid-Himalayan range.

CHAPTER 6

A COURT IN LAHUL

The day I built the bridge at Koksar we went four-⁰⁰⁰ teen miles and spent the night at Gundala. Gundala is a small village of a score or so inhabitants. The houses are³⁶¹ square affairs with flat slate roofs. Both outside walls and the³⁴² roofs are plastered with a stucco made from mud. Some have two stories with the people above and the cattle below. Gundala runs at a steep pitch down a mountainside that is dotted with a thin stand of juniper. There are millet, barley, and wheat on the terraces that reach to the river; and willow trees and aspen keep most of the village in shade.

It is ten miles to Kyelang, a distance we covered in about three⁰⁰⁰ hours. We traveled in a light, cold rain and were accompanied all the way by the endless echoes of thunder rolling round and round in this narrow canyon of the Chandra. Kyelang is on the³⁶¹ opposite side of the mountain behind Gundala. It is a village of¹⁶¹ several hundred people that sits prettily high on the banks of the Bhaga River. Across the river is a Buddhist monastery on a lonely

Beyond the High Himalayas

735 an annual cash income of eighty dollars a year per family. But
511 that is far above what the average Ladakhi family will have in a year.

[342] At Upshi, where we first touched the Indus River, we stayed with the headman of the village, Jigmet. Jigmet's house has two stories. It is made of stone and mud with rafters of poplar wood. The ceilings are about six feet high. The floors are mud. The roof is flat, constructed of rocks and mud laid on top of boughs. The cooking is done in a fireplace located under a hole in the roof. The toilet is on an open balcony on the second floor. It consists only of a hole in the mud floor. There are no furnishings in the house—no chairs, no beds, no tables. There are no decorations on the walls, no carpets on the floors.

Jigmet is the richest man in the village. He owns the land he works—eighteen *kanals* or a little more than one acre. He has no sheep, no goats, no yaks. He has one dzo that he uses for plowing. For fuel he uses the dung of the dzo and the common sea buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides*)—a silvery-barked shrub with sharp spines and orange-yellow berries that flourishes in the valley of the Indus. He raises only barley, and he irrigates it from the Indus. He has a few chickens. Their eggs, the dzo's milk, and the barley are his income. He bragged that he had a cash income, over and above his living, of fifty dollars a year. A local official laughed at the idea. He said five dollars a year would be closer.

[291] Jigmet wore a gray wool gown, sandals, and a Ladakhi hat. The hat, distinguished by a rim made of black fur, had a round, squat top. Jigmet had one other adornment. In his right ear he wore a big gold earring about an inch and a half in diameter. His face was sad; his black eyebrows and thick, black mustache accentuated the severity of his countenance. Yet he was a gracious host. He showed us to our room on the second floor. The room had a small balcony big enough for a sleeping bag. It faced north, and I could see miles and miles up the Indus. We no sooner had unpacked than Jigmet's family appeared—a wife suckling a babe,

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292 all, and must have a detailed description later on. Then
 ● 342 look at their dwellings, strange habitations of mud and
 stones, crudely put together with crooked lines and strange
 little tiny windows, with or without a rough wooden frame-
 work. The larger of these may have a wooden partition
 down the centre of the framework, and the upper edge of the
 [231] latter is curved upwards in each partition, adding the expres-
 sion of an eyebrow to the aperture. Through such windows
 it is quite common to see the solemn face of an old goat
 looking out, his long beard wagging to his meditative munch
 as he surveys the street below. How strange it seems to
 our Western ideas to have a goat upstairs and free to wander
 all over the house. But here we shall slowly find that in
 one example after another "the things go the other way."
 We are not exactly in Looking-glass Land, but we are
 certainly in some sort of Wonderland, where many things
 are upside-down, topsy-turvy or just the reverse of our
 notions of correctness, and where the strangest incongruities
 prevail.

To start with the houses, our best rooms are on the ground
 floor ; as you ascend the rooms decrease in importance, and
 the uppermost ones are relegated to lumber or to the least
 important members of the household. In Ladak, on the
 contrary, the higher you go the better the rooms, and the
 flat roof is the most used place of all, especially in the sunny
 hours of winter, when many domestic activities can be carried
 out in the warm sunshine there, and thereby the precious fuel
 be saved. Often there is a small porch on one side, a shelter
 from the keen spring winds or a shade from the heat of
 summer. The fact that horse-manure or cows' dung is
 spread out in patches on the floor to dry, or that the chimney
 of the summer kitchen-room is busy fulfilling its functions
 near-by, does not at all detract from the desirability of this
 lofty open-air sitting room. Descending, we come to a large
 room with an open verandah, which can be closed in by

Introduction to the Land & People 19

short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season. 342● 23/

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible mending as we do, for the more patches with the edges over- [31/ 247] [301] 513 291

The Past Story of Ladak

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

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Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. The descendants of these early missionaries called Mōns are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

147 but their scanty garments, these small urchins spend the night with only a handful or two of barley-flour as a reward, but they call out a hearty greeting to our nurse as she passes, and neither spirit nor body appears to be chilled by the exposure.

• 100 We have already noticed the strange mixture of finery and rags, the incongruity of fine workmanship and adjacent tawdriness. Surely nature herself teaches them this odd combination of the sublime and the ridiculous. Think only of the many examples on the main road up from Srinagar to 133 Leh. As one emerges from the narrow defile which has 361 wound up slowly from Pashkim, just beyond Kargil, to the Mulbeck Valley and about three miles before the village of that name is reached, the gorge opens out into a broad cultivated valley with a great panorama of majestic mountains beyond. Here and there in the foreground are soft sandstone cliffs, behind, strange peaks with jagged pinnacles in their rugged outlines, rising higher yet sinking in perspective as they reach the horizon to stand out clear and sharp against the brilliant azure sky, the whole suggesting some gigantic upheaval of past ages. As one pursues the winding path in and out of soft red-brown sand-hills into the village, the nearer hills and the lower extraordinary formations of sandstone on the further side of the stream come into prominence. These are sculptured by wind, snow and rain into the most grotesque shapes, looking in some places like the ruins of some ancient village or even turretted castles, the rough outlines of the one-time windows presenting the most gnome-like suggestion of a forgotten civilization. In other places the stalagmite-looking relics are more statuesque, and, opposite the sharp turn of the high road to the left, may be seen across the main valley a gigantic looking ruined model of a mother with a child at her knees. Over the pass and into the next village, again straggling along a wide valley, this formation is repeated, and one quaint little cluster of houses

Nature's Setting

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on the further side of the stream appears to be purposely designed to show the evolution of the house from the rock. Holes in the cliff itself slowly evolve into the apertures of a dwelling, and these merge into the more elaborate windows of a house in a graded transition before one's eyes, whilst portions of the rock are used as walls and foundations for the buildings, so that it is quite hard to distinguish across the valley which is nature's building and which is man's. Even in the people this similitude to the land and rocks amounts to a protective adaptation like that in wild animals and birds. How difficult it is to distinguish the ordinary coolie seen on the road in the distance. His undyed home-spun, his cap and even his face (for his cheeks receive just about as much washing as the land receives rain in this dry climate) are thoroughly impregnated with the dry dust of the desert. His movements alone distinguish him from the grey-brown rocks, stones and sand around. Very different indeed is the red-robed lama, who can be discerned from afar in a land where the atmosphere is so rarefied that distance is incredibly fore-shortened. Again it is often absurdly difficult to know whether a pile of stones set up by some passer-by to frighten away mischievous spirits is a human being standing or sitting until one is quite near by, when the stones may suddenly resolve themselves into a wayfarer who rises to ask you for some *m'a-ches* (matches) which will enable him to light his fire so much more quickly than the flint and tinder which depend from his waist. On the road between Bot Kharbu and Lamayuru one of the most quaint little clusters of transitional rock-dwellings suddenly comes into view up a narrow ravine on one's left, and one thinks of the inhabitants, the women especially, whose life and world is probably confined to this fantastic corner, appropriately named Henasku. But all these fantasies are only preparations for the incredible scene that lies before one as the final is turned in the approach to Lamayuru.

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Over Many Passes

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arrives, and leads us thither up crooked rocky lanes, through dark alleys, up rickety ladders, and under low portals, which give rude shocks to our heads or topees. This "very nice room" with its mud walls is about 15 ft. by 18 ft. in size, while its low dirty roof just above our heads, has been stained a beautiful shining mohogany by years of smoke, a process being continued by a fire at the further end, whose acrid fumes, most painful to the eyes, fill the room. To the left a nice large verandah admits fresh air, and appears to be the only clean spot in the room, not excepting our travel-stained selves. While the water for our tea is being boiled, the family produce a black rug, woven from sheeps' hair, and place it on the floor, so that we may both sit and "lay our table" upon it. The family, vastly entertained and entertaining, sit around, consisting of father, son, son-in-law, and one or two ladies whose relationship is not precisely ascertained. We tell them of the road already traversed; they tell us of joys to come. The old grandfather, or *Meme*, is specially interesting as he sits on the verandah, wearing a peculiar type of hat of a fashion only retained by a few of the oldest inhabitants, though still part of the ceremonial dress at weddings. Like a very elongated tea-cosy, it is doubled over to one side in the middle, has a turned-up brim, and was introduced by King Senge Namgyal. The old man is smoking his pipe with such enjoyment, that we are constrained to inquire as to the source of his tobacco, for such relish can hardly be credited to the old metal pipe. He replies that he has gathered the fragrant leaf from the hill-side. The Padre having a fellow-feeling with this smoker gives the old man some of his own "Country Life" tobacco to sample. He fills his bowl, and his face lights up as he puffs away at the wonderful new concoction, and assumes a beatific contentment. Taking out his pipe, he surveys it with a smile, for who could have believed even that old friend could have produced such a delightful inhalation.

[Facing p. 88]

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1. A LABAKI FROM A SIDE VALLEY.

One of the few old men who still wear regularly a turnover hat introduced by a former king.

2. A BREEZY DWELLING.

A Tibetan nomad looking through the aperture at the top of his quaint tent, which serves as chimney, ventilator and observatory.

3 & 4. HEAD TEACHER OF THE MONASTERY OF SANKAR.

He is the secular instructor of the Baby Skushog. He is wearing ceremonial hats used on different occasions.

491 pick-a-pack. To the men of these parts their bridges offer no thrills ; they often carry cattle over on their backs, first taking the precaution of tying their legs. Some time after we had reached camp, our other two servants came in and told us of their experiences at that bridge. "Are you afraid?" said one. "No, not a bit," replied his comrade, while in sheer fright the tears chased one another down his cheeks. However, one soon gets quite blasé about these bridges, and I crossed my fourth with a light heart. But how do the ponies fare? They have to be relieved of their loads, which men carry over the bridge and they themselves must swim the torrent. Our own Mongolian pony was shown a horse on the further side, hoping that he would think it had arrived safely and would follow its good example, but he had to be driven in several times with much shouting and raising of arms before he would venture across, and the sturdy animal was quite out of breath on arriving at the other bank.

166 At Padum a day's rest was decreed, not only from marching, but also to extract fourteen cataracts, which were awaiting operation. The next day on again, until finally we reached the Shingkung La, the Pass which divides Zankskar from Lahoul, and which took us four days to cross. Going to the foot of the Pass on the first day, we noticed some peculiar huts on the opposite side of the river which proved to be dwellings, built of yaks' dung. During the summer, when the yaks are allowed to graze the hillsides, their shepherds first build low walls of stone, then bring the plaques of dung, which they collect each day, to build a slanting roof, of which each superimposed layer overlaps slightly inwards. When winter comes, the yaks are driven back into the village, and the collections of dung taken home for the winter fuel.

000 Having reached the top of the Pass, a most wonderful view is unfolded. To right and left rise glorious peaks covered with glittering snowfields or glaciers, while our path itself lies across an avalanche, though it is difficult to realize this,

With Brogpa & Khampa

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the Indus, we do not meet the Khampa much in Ladak, but ⁵⁶³
 as soon as we get into Zankskar, he is ubiquitous. Does the ⁴⁴³
 lady of those regions need cloth with which to make her shirt, ⁶²¹
 or needle and thread with which to sew it, the Khampa will
 supply them. Should the bridegroom need a nice button
 for his coat, he has only to apply to the same source. One of
 our lady missionaries ran out of needles for her sewing
 machine, which, moreover, was of a German make, but why
 worry with Khampas accessible, for, after having supplied the
 said needles, no doubt the Gipsy said in the approved Tibetan
 fashion—"And the next, please." But not only does he sell
 things, he also buys and is especially keen on Zankskari and
 Spitti ponies. All likely four-year-old ponies are very welcome
 to him, for whilst he buys them for about Rs 60, he sells them
 at three or four times that amount down-country. When it
 comes to horse-dealing he has nothing to learn from his
 English confrère. We ourselves were anxious to buy a
 Zankskari pony, but had not succeeded in picking up what
 we wanted. But one day we struck a Khampa's camp, and
 thought we would try to get one from them. There at the
 foot of the hills, on the way down from a high pass, stood five
 tents in a semi-circle.

The Khampa's tent is quite distinctive. Two ordinary ³⁴² ●
 poles which fork above, taken, no doubt, from the poplars
 which grow in the country, are used as uprights, and across
 the top of these another is laid over which is stretched a plain
 piece of canvas, fastened by ropes to wooden pegs or stones.
 At the bottom of this many hiatuses are left, which are con-
 veniently filled up with the bales containing their merchandise.
 At the top of the uprights a flag is stuck; this, however, is not ⁷⁸⁹
 placed there to signify the presence of royalty or its represen-
 tative, but to keep out the evil spirits or to welcome the good.
 Behind their camp on the hills, their many ponies are seen ⁶²¹
 cropping the grass, and, incidentally giving the order to the
 camp to move on when all this has been eaten. As we ride ⁰⁰⁰

142 unaccustomed to washing, but well-acquainted with smoky
 291 fires. Their long coats reach just below the knees, and are
 cut without shape or form of any kind. The fronts of these
 over-lap, and in lieu of buttons they wear a long, broad
 kammerband round their waists to keep their coats closed.
 On the lapels of these garments are broad strips of nicely-
 coloured flannel. The Changpas are shod with long boots
 reaching up to the knees, red in colour and with very thick
 • 342 soles. Their tents, to European eyes, seem to be just about
 as ridiculous as tents can be; but then the Changpa does
 not go into them for protection from the rain as we do, but
 [132] from the wind. Although in these high uplands there is
 plenty of rain, for it seemed to be pouring or snowing most of
 the time we were up there, he considers that the wind is the
 worse of two evils, for in a high wind you cannot make a fire
 to boil your tea. He therefore makes his tent so that the
 wind shall find it difficult to get in, while the smoke of the
 fire inside shall have an easy egress. To do this he leaves
 the top of his canvas home absolutely open to the sky. His
 shelter consists merely of two sides of black cloth made from
 yak's hair, of which the upper two corners only are fastened
 together and fixed on the top of upright poles whilst the lower
 corners are fastened to the ground. These tents are so low
 that, if the Changpa wants to see what his sheep are doing,
 he has only to stand up and put his head and shoulders out
 of his "chimney" to view the landscape, when he resembles
 nothing more closely than a released jack-in-the-box. Inside
 their tents these pastoral people sleep, cook their meals, and
 keep their goods and chattels, while grazing around are
 their horses, yaks, and sheep—a simple life indeed.

Pobrang itself is a very pretty place, consisting of a long
 stretch of grass lying among sandy mountains with the usual
 snow-covered peaks behind. Through it there run many
 delightful rivulets in which the snow-trout are so abundant
 that in quite a short space of time we pulled out about sixty,

CHAPTER XI

Domesticities

THE homes of Ladak, with the exception of those in its metropolis, Leh, and perhaps in the small town of Kargil, in Purig, are practically all village homes. In these desert uplands a village must centre round a stream, which brings its contribution from the glaciers of the great heights—ever in the background—to one of the smaller rivers, most of which eventually flow into the Indus. Where such a stream runs through a broadening valley, it is possible to lay out a series of terraced fields, which can be irrigated in turn by directing the supply into small artificial water-courses. Indeed the turns for sharing the precious water are often the subject of much quarrelling, hoarse shouting and invective, while some less fortunate inhabitants have sometimes to stay up all night to water their fields. Above the area of cultivated terraces, and at the foot of the actual hills, where it is too rocky and steep to plough and sow, the houses are clustered, approached by stony paths or tracks, and so built into the hillside that convenient pieces of rock are often used for wall or floor, and, where the rock overhangs, even for roof, while a little sunny platform will be enclosed with a rough wall to stable the animals by day in winter. The setting of roof and balcony is always arranged to catch the maximum sunshine, so that even in the low temperatures of winter, many domestic activities can be carried on out-of-doors. Crowning the chief hill of the village, and dominating its common life, as its position would suggest, is the monastery.

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Domesticities

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child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a "country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable proportion of the population move in the summer away to the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*. 231 342 361 221

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs. This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair, and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them, and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard plant are used for the same three purposes, though the mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot. 342 778 252 439

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house 342 288 [622]

FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

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A SKUSHOG AND HIS MONASTIC BAND
greeting the British Joint Commissioner on his tour. The Abbot is seated on a "wooden throne."

THE BIG DRUM.

A similar band, shewing especially the type of drum used with its hooked beater, like a large mark of interrogation.

THE CHIEF TIBETAN REPRESENTATIVE AND HIS SON
who have come to confer with the British and State (Wazir) Joint Commissioners of Ladak about a boundary dispute.

Opp. Pg. 112

- 342 for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers. Here,
 788 too, the lamas are accommodated when they are sent for to
 793 come and "do religion" in the house. Their presence can
 be detected from afar by the monotonous beat of their drums,
 while nearer at hand the sound of their chanting can be
 heard. At such times, lasting one or two days, the priests
 must be both fed, and paid in money.

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Where a whole room cannot thus be set apart for religious purposes, a small corner in the best room will be arranged as an altar with all the necessary paraphernalia of ritual. These include the brass vessels for burning oil, vases containing peacock feathers, and chased vessels of brass, copper or silver or combinations of these to hold the rice, barley and other offerings. Quaintly-shaped vessels for holy water, small idols in metal cases, with a tiny window in front and slots at the side through which string may be passed to tie them round the waist when travelling, salutation-scarves of wide meshed raw silk, little bits of tawdry rags, doubtless blessed by some Skushog, and one or two sacred books in their long covers also find a place there.

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One has often noticed in Mussulman homes that the best room is always used by the head of the house if he falls sick, and in most houses the best gowns and coats, especially the headman's, adorn its walls, along with soiled Turkish towels hanging on rough pegs. But surely the best and brightest room is most conducive to a successful toilet and effective ablutions!

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The ordinary inhabitant, however, who only gives his religion an average place, and who cannot afford many lamaistic luxuries, generally has to make a living-room of his best room, though as we have already indicated most houses have a large bright room upstairs for use in summer. The greater part of the side of this is a window space, framed in wood with three or four longitudinal partitions, each of which can be filled to any height desired for warmth or privacy by

Domesticities

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- 342 fitting a series of short horizontal boards into the slots cut in the sides of the framework. The big family stove is built of
- 252 a special black mud, deposited at the bottoms of rivers or streams, or dug from under the damp turf on their banks, which becomes very hard when dried. The stove is roughly square in form, with a hole at two or more corners round which the hard mud is raised into three upward projections, thus supporting the local rounded cooking-pots. These are made of copper and tinned over by the local blacksmith. We Europeans have to be very careful to have this lining kept intact to avoid copper poisoning, but one often finds the Ladaki brewing his tea in a pot from which all traces of tin have long ago vanished. Perhaps this is why we are so often upset when we accept invitations to meals in their houses. In front of the stove on the right-hand side is a projection of the same hardened mud, which is to accommodate the right-hand of the "fire blower," as he operates on the bellows. These are very effective instruments with a large nozzle pushed well under the glowing fuel, and an elongated bag of goat-skin at the outer end of which two small bars of wood are attached, with small loops of strongly-twisted thread in the middle. Through these the thumb and fingers are placed to open and close the mouth, and though it sounds and looks a simple process a certain knack must be acquired to get a good fire. Children of the house often keep it going, but the fire-blower is generally a sooty-faced, ragged woman servant, the counterpart of the old scullery-maid in the West. The stove has a large central tunnel with branches radiating out to the corner holes, and in the middle is a depression for the biggest hole of all.
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252 Here the large pot of butter-tea is generally brewing. The tea, of which the best variety comes from Lhasa (where it is used as coinage) in bricks, is stewed for some hours, then mixed up in a special churn, phonetically named a *gurgur*, with butter, soda, salt and milk. Some writers have said our

Modes & Manners

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while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and *kalches* are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the thrills of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their

Merit & its Aquisition

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the occasion of the building of the wall is engraved. We pass on to a little streamlet in the village, and find that over it a little mud hut, about the size of a large dog kennel, has been erected, which houses another prayer-wheel. On the axle of this, below the receptacle for prayers, are paddles on which the running water impinges and thus keeps the wheel in perpetual rotation. The stream is often small, so that a light wheel is desirable, and what could be a better shell for enclosing the prayer paper than a Standard Oil kerosene tin, or a Mellin's Food tin, both of which are actually used.

The first house of the village belongs to the Kalon or former prime minister of Ladak, and in keeping with his exalted position, it is an imposing structure. On an outside wall we notice the skull of a goat, framed in small sticks tied together by twine, which is the *Storma* obtained at the New Year's festival, and keeps those in the house insured against sickness. The corners of the house have been painted a red colour, which effectually bars the entry of evil spirits. The Kalon does not seem to invite the good spirits to reside in his house, but others do. They only have to paint all over their walls white sickle-shaped smudges, and their invitations to these *lhas* will be accepted with alacrity. In the Kalon's court-yard is a high pole, to which is attached a strip of thin muslin about twelve inches broad and running the length of the flagstaff, which is surmounted by the black bushy tail of the holy yak. On the flag are printed a great number of prayers, with crude drawings of Tiger, Lion, Garuda and Dragon, all being mystical signs ensuring safety against enemies, earthly and celestial, increasing the number of children and wealth, in short achieving the entire health and happiness of the household. To set the necessary forces in action it only remains for the wind to flutter the flag on his roof. He also has a prayer-wheel which is so light that even the wind impinging on its vane will turn it.

We pass along the rough village lanes and everywhere

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595 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu
795 Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not.
631 As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Par-tap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father.

[342] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden
[574] table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garhpan*, and his younger brothers – known as *nono* (*No-no*) – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur.

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said.

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or beads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli.

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father,

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550 the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, 342 miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing 563 like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

361 When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found 233 some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of 563 yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

133 The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was 792 not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

792 This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood 441 from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads 243 from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa' or Ka-gyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

563 The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) be- 101 cause they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into 631 contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba* 651

representatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (dGe-Lugs-¹⁶²
pa) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (sNing-ma-pa) or Red Hats. ⁷⁹⁵
The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity
to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur mer-^[563]
chants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people
are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist
Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there
are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to
whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively ^[563]
different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the ^[140]
extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of
the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are
those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, ¹⁹⁷
the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the
Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a pro-
cess of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of
the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan
language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women re-¹⁴²
semble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces,
slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair
on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinc-
tive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have de-²⁹¹
scribed earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their ^[302]
hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is ^[515]
resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is
untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. ^[821]
When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other
part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more
clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temper-
atures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of ³⁴²
Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They ^[231]
are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and
gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually ^[354]
broader than the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a
stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney
in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through
the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

114 6. *Personal field-work research*

595 After having gathered a certain amount of theoretical information of the kind which I have given above, I felt the necessity to go out and see things for myself. I asked Nono Tse-p'hün to take me to some of the polyandrous households which he knew in the neighbourhood of Leh, and he accepted readily enough.

595 (i) *Visits to polyandrous households*

601 Consequently, on the 30th of August 1938, we visited a family living in polyandry in the immediate outskirts of the town. The name of the house was Tok-Tok (possibly Groggs-Groggs or T'hog-T'hog) and consisted of two brothers living polyandrously, and of two of their sons by a first wife also living in this way. I give the genealogy which I made then, in Table 27, by way of illustration.

789 As we approached the Tok-Tok house I noticed a Dö (*mDos*) string cross over the door to catch devils. I remarked upon it and heard that

● 342 in Ladak it is called a *namgo* (*rNam-mGo?*). The building was a typical
[353] Tibetan one, with a flat roof covered with fuel for the winter arranged in packets round the edge, thick stone walls painted white, rectangular doors and windows, the lower part of the frame broader than the upper part, with coloured decorations and a piece of cloth hanging over the top part, a *lha-k'hang* (*lHa-K'hang*) or private chapel on the first floor with *chöstens* visible through the window. We entered by the front gate which led into a yard and thence into a stable, from which a staircase took us up to the first floor. It was there that we met the family, and had our talk with our principal informant, the eldest father and former master of the household, Lobsang Tok-Tok.

595 He told us that he and his brother, Ishe Döndrup, together with their
428 eldest sister, Skalzang Rolma, were the three children of a certain Ishe Tok-Tok now dead. The sister had been married off in *bag-ma* to the now deceased son of the Par-k'hang house (meaning "Printing House"), Samten, with whom she had had no children. She had inherited the property at his death, and would be holding it as long as she lived, or until the little girl she had adopted married and set herself up in the *k'hang-chen* as the heiress. This little girl belonged to the *p'ha-spun* of Skalzang Rolma's former husband and, for this reason, was entitled to inherit the Par-k'hang house.

591 Lobsang himself, a man in his sixties now, had been married poly-
595 andrously with his brother to a certain Tsering Panzom with whom they
888 had had two children, a son called Stobgyal and a girl, Ishe Palkid.

595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and
601 Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at
[797] least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the
Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister
had married a certain Sang-gyā P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was
a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very
rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gumpa,
where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable
[792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down,
so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion
was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied
if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three
children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 (ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in*
114 *Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok be-
tween the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much
information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages func-
tioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak.
595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already
learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being
colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this,
probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and
does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one
alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak,
all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and
it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between
them in their relations with the common wife.

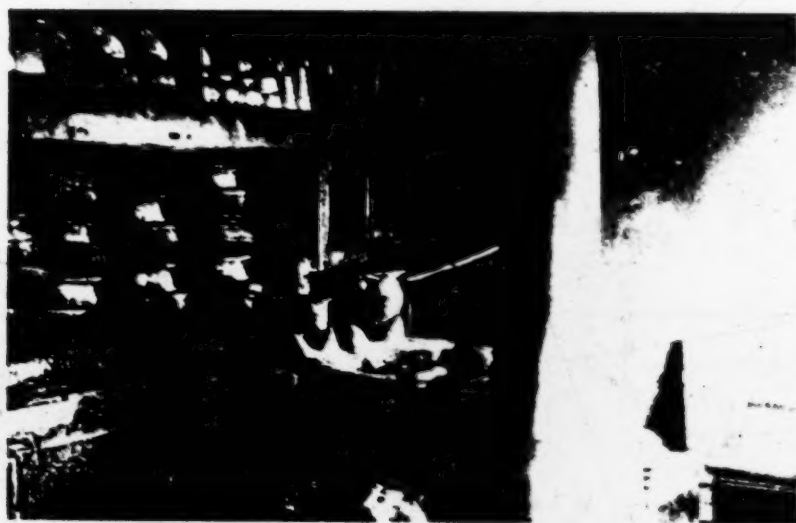
595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because
342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room
[354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire
family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one
in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, pro-
creation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means
"kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which every-
body lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and
there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.
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Fig. 39. A typical Ladaki house from outside, at Leh.



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Fig. 40. The kitchen inside a Ladaki house, at Leh.

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the fields, or now and then in separate plantations. But the growth is not enough to supply all that is wanted. When the new bazaar at Leh was built, a great old plantation belonging to the chief monastery was felled for the purpose, nothing approaching to which is now to be seen in the country. The difficulty in the way of plantations seems to be that there is required for them positions advantageous in point of soil and water which are already occupied by crops; one can hardly increase the growth of timber without diminishing the breadth of land tilled, and of that there is none too much. 313

The houses are built of sun-dried bricks or of stone. They are flat-roofed, of two or three stories, but these all very low. Except in the very poorest houses there is always a reception room kept neat and clean, the rest not having this character. When a visitor comes they carpet this room with felts, and do all they can to make him and his attendants comfortable. The houses are all whitewashed, the aspect of them—perhaps among groups of trees, or else standing out in relief from the sombre rock on which they may be built, rising one behind the other on the face of it—with their verandah-rooms or with balconies projecting, is often bright and pleasant. The houses of people of the higher ranks have an oratory for the practice of the Buddhist religious ceremonies. 342

The palace at Leh is probably the finest building in the country, though some of the monasteries may approach it. This palace is curiously contrived. The arrangement of the rooms is very irregular; they are not in continuous stories, but are at all sorts of levels, connected by narrow and low passages. There are two or three large reception rooms, some of them with an opening to the sky in the centre, this plan allowing of a large fire burning in winter on the floor of the room. The roofs of these large rooms were supported by columns with the wide-extending head or capital which is so marked a feature in Indian architecture; the columns, and indeed most of the wood-work, were gaily coloured, and on the walls were painted sacred pictures. 344

rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent, it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average.

The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high in one of these lives a whole family.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhis do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† K'līma-posh.

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eight miles distant; a succession of spurs come down from it; 133^x
between them are hollows from which come out, at their base,
wide spreading fans. The hill-sides are completely bare of vegeta-
tion. On the slopes of the northern ridge, up to 2000 feet, blown
sand has accumulated, sand blown up from the river plain; this
sometimes lies in masses in the hollows, sometimes is spread on
the hill-sides in varying thicknesses, in places it has been washed
down again into the valleys on to the other débris. The different
colour of this sand from that of the rock gives a strange look to
the hills; it often reverses the usual light and shade, making the
hollows bright and leaving the projections dark.

I went about 20 miles farther, south-eastwards up the valley,
along the alluvial plain between the mountains. After that, as
I could see, the space between the mountains narrowed; in the
line of the valley there seemed to be an opening like a gate-
way; it is through this that goes the road into the Chinese terri-
tory; the river is deflected to the north-east, flowing in a narrow
space, but after another 20 miles up the two valleys or hollows
reunite.

Our farthest camp was at a place called Dora. This is where
the Châmpās of Rupshu spend the winter. Here are built some
low walled spaces for sheltering cattle at night; there were many
small hollows dug two feet deep in the ground with a course or two
of sun-dried brick above, these are made for the tents to be pitched
in them; at one end is a rude house built for the headman—low
walls washed over with a glittering micaceous mud and roofed in
with sticks covered with turf. When I was there, in August,
there was not a soul in the settlement.

At Dora falls
hardly any snow. This is why the place is chosen for winter
quarters, the sheep and the cattle being thus able to graze on the
extensive though thin pasture found on the flat. Close by is a
small shallow lake in the alluvium; it is about three-quarters of
a mile long and a furlong wide, of clear fresh water. Two or three
miles off are some little salt ponds in the alluvium; the water of
these tastes both salt and bitter.

About north-north-east
from Dora the northern mountain-ridge changes in point of compo-
sition from granite to a more or less altered shale; the line of it

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133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

491 Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live
there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road
leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to
sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe
in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come
slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we
entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its
borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on
either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in
the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing
down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields
during the summer and autumn.

● 342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones
mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like
cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down
the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It
seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go
either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire
themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered
quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond
this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and
ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens
a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves
entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one
wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more
grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and
gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets
which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were
like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren
land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the
winds at their will.

771 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-
779 monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent
Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on
their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the popu-
181 lation are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated;
533 they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing
535 for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an oppor-
tunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in
general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are
ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and
dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve
said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither
quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of
chang, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-
minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness.
From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by
the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in
winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer
by choice."

361 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the
526 main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides,
behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled
high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in
Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground
for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and
is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on
which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in
the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the
onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At
"important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both
players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] The surprising thing is that although the people never wash
[356] and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean
and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or
● 342 filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden
132 shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, al-
though it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can
be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

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summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny courtyard of a Lamastery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron-coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasionally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

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